1: Vanhove--iv G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Mutara III, King of Ruanda. (Taken by Author)

1: Vanhove--2A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 6]

342

A hill chief and his family sitting on the threshold of their home. In the foreground can be seen the imitabo, a very low, festoon-shaped mud walls.

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Reverend Father Pages surrounded by young Batutsi men.

(Both photos taken by Author)

1:Vanhove--14A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 18]

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Two Bahutu mothers, their heads encircled with the urugori greet each other.
(Official photograph, Colonial Office)

1:Vanhove--14B G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 19]

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Mututsi lady surrounded by her children and her female servants.

(Official photograph, Colonial Office.)

1:Vanhove--70C G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

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Mututsi prince.

Mutwa in a pantomime scene.

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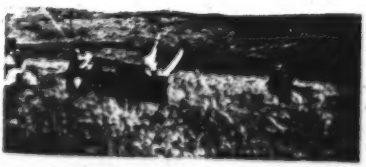

Inyambo, accompanied by their guardians, grazing in a Buganza pasture.

The parade of the Inyambo. A Muhutu praising the qualities of the sacred cattle he is guarding.

(All photos taken by Author)

1: Vanhove--71A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[opp. p. 83]

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Batutsi of northern Ruanda. Their less pure type results from marriages with Bahutu women.
(Official photo, Colonial Office.)

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[opp. p. 107]

One of the many native tribunals instituted since the Belgian occupation.

(Official photograph, Colonial Office)

1:Vanhove--83A G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

439 of officials and military men. The natives eagerly snatch it up.
177 Yet at the time of King Kisabo the chiefs strictly banned the wearing of cotton material for they suspected quite rightly that, together with the foreign merchants and goods, other influences would soon be introduced which might undermine their sovereignty.

291 Apart from the bark material which predominates, goat skins (ikikoba, urusato) are also worn as loincloths, with the fur side inward; they are the only clothing for children, poor people, and mostly for the Batwa also (Plate 7). In northeastern Urundi, in the Bugufi district, hide cloaks are worn more often than those made from bark (No. 8, p. 61). All over Urundi the [854] women, in addition to the loincloth of hide or bark material, around the upper part of the body wear a quadrilateral piece of hide or bark material, tied in a knot at the shoulder; it is used to carry the youngest child on the back. The men wear a larger, toga-like garment, held up by a knot at the shoulders and falling down over the knees. The knots at the shoulders are often decorated with a few large tassels of dry banana bast which look like gigantic major's epaulets (Plate 11a, 14a).

287 Barkcloth (impusu) -- Stuhlmann calls it "bast felt" (No.
386 32a, p. 35) -- has an advantage over hide and cotton materials in that it is very light, warm, and permeable, but its production requires work, and since it frays out after longer wear, it soon becomes full of holes and frayed and looks very shabby (Plates 9, 13a). Add to this the usually very dismal, dark gray color. By nature it is brown. In a very few cases it is dyed red with laterite or plant juices (for mourning), or it is decorated with [531] black designs shaped like spindles, leaves, or circles against its natural reddish-brown background. Usually it is dyed a dark gray with wood ashes, argillite, or mud from the swamps, and then it is a deplorable sight. When a large number of people dressed in this manner happen to stand together in a crowd, the many black-clothed figures, [31] combined with the smooth-shaven skulls and flashing spears which are carried by everyone, form a very impressive total picture of great somberness. We again find this simple method of dyeing in Unjoro, the most northerly area to which the Bahima extend; Vandeleur writes

287 about this: "The Wanjoro (in the highland of southern Unjoro)
386 produce the same clothes of barkcloth as the Waganda [Ganda], dyeing them black by putting them for a day into the mud of a swamp." (No. 9, p. 377.)

• 291 There is no difference between the dress of the Batussi and the Bahutu, nor is there a special costume reserved for certain classes or professions. The Mutwa and the Muhutu, the Mutussi and the Muganwa, the great chief and the king: all dress in the same unattractive blackish-gray impusu of tree bark. Another feature common to them all is that they take off the long upper garment inside the huts and when working in the fields because it is a hindrance.

287 The material is made from the barks of several fig species
248 (Urostigma), mainly the Ficus chlamydodora Warb. or the Ficus Schimperi Hochst., in the same manner as in those areas of Ruanda where garments of barkcloth are still worn. Since more barkcloth is used in Urundi than in Ruanda where cotton cloth is already much in use, more fig trees are planted near the huts in Urundi than in Ruanda; often they look like a village orchard near the houses. For this reason alone the scenery of Urundi gives the impression of being more friendly and varied than Ruanda which is grassy for the most part. Almost every cluster of huts lies in the shade of a little fresh green fig grove. The fence surrounding the homesteads also consists partly of fig trees which form natural fence posts, giving firm support to the latticework of the fence. According to van der Burgt, the Ficus chlamydodora was introduced into Urundi only about 60 years ago and at present occurs only where it is cultivated. However, I believe I have seen it growing wild in the peripheral mountains of the northwest.

287 Once the tree has grown until the trunk is about the thickness of an arm, its bark is removed for the first time. For this purpose two horizontal incisions are made around the trunk from half a meter to one meter apart. Both incisions are connected by a vertical incision, and a long rectangular piece of bark is then loosened from the tree without difficulty. The exposed area of the trunk is then rubbed with butter, and banana leaves are tied around it. Then, from the cut edges, the bark completely

287 reforms again under the resin exuding from the wood, and the wound heals. In two years time the tree can be cut once more. The piece of bark which has been removed is first cleaned of the rough outer layer with a knife, then it is placed over a tree trunk lying on the ground and pounded on both sides with a short, grooved, wooden club (Plate 36, 37) until it becomes soft. The sap still in it is then wrung out, as out of a wash rag; the piece is then spread out and dried in the sun. Finally it is sewn with banana bast thread and an awl to other pieces and made into a garment of the size needed for a loincloth or a cloak (No. 19, p. 279). Barkcloth is produced exclusively by
[462] men and is, almost without exception, for house and family use only, but in Ruanda there are also special "fundi" who make a business of producing and selling the cloth to other people. The women are concerned only with decorating their
[301] garments with interlaced borders and lace, while the men [32] also fasten tassels and shoulder tufts as decorations on their garments (Plates 11a, 44, 45). Even King Kisabo liked to indulge in this occupation during his leisure hours, and the same is reported of the mighty chief Lusabiko in east Urundi: "We found the chief busy making fringes out of fine dry grass with which to decorate his bark garment. In this simple Negro, squatting on the ground plaiting fringes, nobody would have suspected the great Lusabiko at whose feet a quarter of the beautiful land of Urundi lies trembling" (No. 14, p. 214).

291 It may be assumed that the Batussi as a pastoral people must originally have worn garments made from cattle hides, as is still the case at present among several pastoral tribes in East Africa, for example, the Massai and Wandorobbo [Wanderobo]. Since they have settled down, however, they have adopted bark-
[292] cloth, among many other things, from the subject Bahutu. Carefully and tastefully prepared hide garments, leopard skin aprons (see pp. 124, 126), and all kinds of ornaments (Plates 11b, 12a, 31, 32) make their appearance only when festive attire is worn at war dances and other celebrations.

Neither men nor women have any headgear. If the sun is too hot, if it rains, or if the head must be protected for some other reason, a corner of the garment is pulled over the bare

291 head. Sometimes women wear a headband of corn leaves as a symbol of young motherhood; two narrow strips of banana bark over the forehead is the sign of a married woman. Both are also worn in Ruanda.

There is no special covering for genital parts or the feet. When men wear only the toga, the penis is often visible, but this does not offend their sense of modesty. The women have their breasts mostly covered by their upper garment, but they do not mind uncovering them when, for any reason whatsoever, they take off or change a garment. Before reaching puberty, children walk around entirely naked (Plate 16) or with a narrow apron of banana bast (Plate 38).

411 The Barundi are really a "people in arms," far more so than the Banjaruanda among whom the large mass of the Bahutu walk unarmed and even the Batussi rarely carry a spear, but rather only a long staff which, however, may be quickly made into a weapon by affixing a spear point. Similarly, the Barundi can be seen walking around with wooden shafts without points whenever they want to demonstrate their peaceful intentions or wish to protect the iron point against wear or rust, but they almost always carry the spear point wrapped up, and they never go far away from the homestead to tend the cattle, work in the fields, or go on a visit without having at least one or two people in the group armed with spears and bows. A Murundi with any self-respect will never let himself be seen without a spear, for without it he would feel "undressed." Even boys carry spears. As a rule, the two customary weapons, spear and bow, are carried together, the spear in one hand, the bow and two to four arrows in the other.

The spears (itschjumu) hardly differ from those in Ruanda, and, as in Ruanda, the shape of the points varies somewhat (Plates 39, 40). Generally the blade has a strong, sharpened central rib which makes it very elastic and resistant and gives the spear, so to speak, four edges. Next to the central rib two blood grooves are hollowed out; these are usually absent on a Bantu spear. Point and socket have a sleeve for inserting the shaft. The latter is a strong [33] stick, as thick as a thumb, two

296 this seems to be an art which they learned from the Congolese
[171] Wawira and Wabemba [Bembe] (No. 19, p. 577).

The Barundi are not familiar with the technique of weaving
[287] material for garments. They wear garments made of barkcloth
291 and hides, and only in recent times have they started to use
[177] European cotton fabrics.

Wood carving (uwuwasi) obviously ranks second to pottery,
322 weaving, and metalworking in a country with as few trees as Urundi. Most carving is done in the western mountain regions where there are still remnants of primeval forest with tall trees.
[438] From there these objects are exported to the almost treeless areas of the interior. The Batwa in particular are good wood
[462] carvers. As among the Bahutu and Batussi, only men engage in wood carving. Everyone makes his own ordinary wooden household objects, such as poles, sticks, pestles for pounding grain, hoe handles, knife handles, and similar objects, since they do not require any particular technical skill. Other woodworking that requires technical knowledge and experience, such as spear shafts, bows, arrows, quivers, wrist discs, milk pails, bellows, shields, and grain mortars, is done by specialists who exchange or sell their products (Plate 52). Moreover, a characteristic feature of the wood carving of the Barundi and Banjaruanda and one which Stuhlmann calls attention to for all African wood carving (No. 32a, p. 28) is that objects are always made from a single piece of wood. Products made of several pieces of wood are extremely rare; both in Urundi and in Ruanda the only ones are knife and dagger sheaths consisting of two flat boards tied
322 together. A combination of wood carving and plaiting tech-
411 niques is found in one type of shield (ingabo) whose oblong wooden
285 plate is covered [81] with plaited work consisting of strips of fig bark and rattan, leaving only the boss in the center of the shield uncovered (Plate 53). This type of shield is extremely rare in Urundi. In Ruanda there are more of these shields covered with plaited work -- ascribed by Stuhlmann to the kulturkreis of the Bahima (No. 32a, p. 30) -- but, nevertheless, they occur only sporadically. They are numerous only near the Uganda border.

Plate 7

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Batwa near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Batwa Making Pottery near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Barundi West of Mujaga, East Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi near Kilima, Northwest Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--243 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 9

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Barundi from the Upper Muwarasi River, West Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Barundi from Migeni, West of Mugera, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

2: Meyer--244 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Women with Sleeping Sickness, Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Chain Gang in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 11

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Batussi Delegation of King Mutaga in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

[643]

King Mutaga (*) of Urundi with Batussi Entourage
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

2: Meyer--246 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Plate 12

Entourage of the Muganwa Lusokosa in front of Gitega Station, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

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Young Batussi, Central Urundi
(Photo. by "White Fathers," Urundi)

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Muganwa Seruschanja (right) with Two Brothers
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

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Barundi Christian Barundi Girls, North Urundi
(Photo. by J. M. van der Burgt)

2: Meyer--248 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Mutussi Girl, Urundi

Muhutu Woman, Urundi

Christian Mutussi Girl, Urundi

(Photos by "White Fathers," Urundi)

Plate 15

2: Meyer--249 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

2: Meyer--250 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 16

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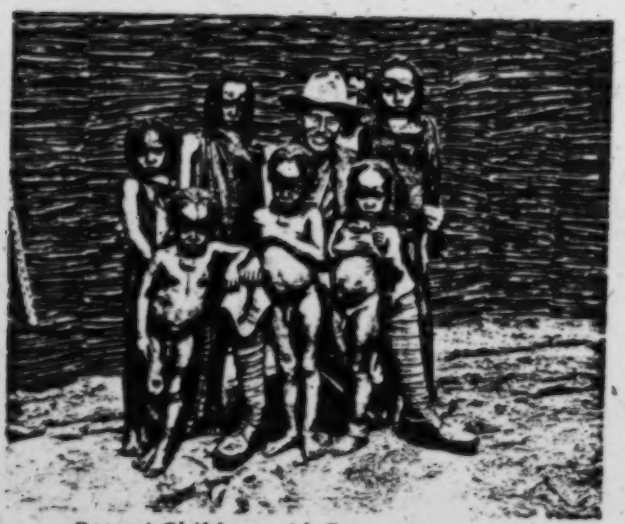

Batussi Children with European
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Bahutu Women and Children, Central Urundi
(Photo. by Captain von Langenn-Steinkeller)

Plate 17

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Mother of King Mutaga

Chief Kilima, Northwest Urundi

Muganwa Sindiwironga

Muganwa Kambi

(Photos, by Captain von Langenn)

2: Meyer--261 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Packs of Salt from the Gottorp Saltworks on the Shore of Lake Tanganyika near Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

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Daily Market in Usumbura
(Photo. by Hans Meyer, 1911)

Plate 30

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Archers in Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)

Archers in Usumbura
(Photo. by Captain Kraut)

2: Meyer--270 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 36

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Barkcloth and Bark Hammer; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

No. 1) Milled piece of material made of fig bark, not yet processed, 140 centimeters long. — No. 2) Processed cloak of fig barkcloth with shoulder tassel of banana bast; 135 centimeters long. — No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding the fig bark, 32 centimeters long.

2: Meyer--271 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 37

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Barkcloth and Bark Hammer.

No. 1) Upper garment of fig barkcloth with bast ribbons, 100 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — No. 2) Painted mat of fig barkcloth, 98 centimeters wide; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig. — No. 3) Wooden hammer for pounding fig bark, 42 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

2: Meyer--272 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

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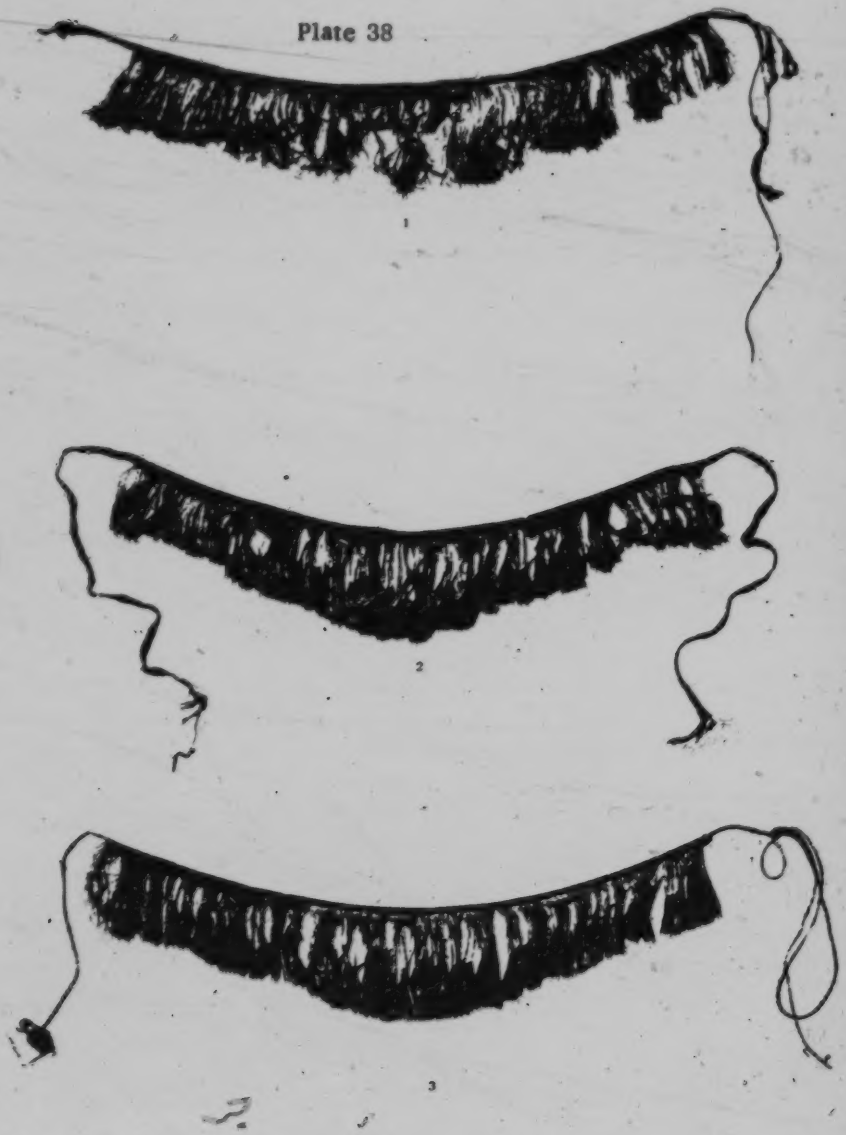

Loincloths of Banana Bast for Little Girls.
58 to 62 centimeters long; Ethnological Museum, Leipzig.

233 attain his end. The loss of a cow is regarded in much the same way as that of /a member/ of the family. Numerous are the suicides among Batutsi who do not believe that they can survive royal disfavor or an epidemic that is decimating their herds.

[237] Everything cows yield is highly valued, /504/ their flesh, their hide, their milk, and even their dung, which has many uses.

[291] Every self-respecting woman who can afford it must dress in a cowhide. This skirt is part of the trousseau at the time of marriage and is passed on from mother to daughter until it is worn out. As for 234 milk, it is almost exclusively chiefs' sons' food. The poor regard it as 272 a special dainty and can only covet it from the rich. It is largely taken in curdled form. Fresh milk is not regarded as worthy of men, but as good for children at best.

Prior to the European penetration the Banyarwanda had never thought of boiling it, and native ideas suffered an upheaval when the Whites were observed to cook it before drinking it. The following [524] riddle illustrates the importance and value of milk in the eyes of [539] the natives. Question: "What is the most improper thing, that causes the greatest embarrassment and constraint?" Answer: "A fly drowned in milk or sitting on the king's forehead." The impropriety is the [687] same in both cases. Death would invariably result for a servant who should be so unmindful as to present His Black Majesty with milk stained by an impurity, no matter how slight. The servants in charge of offering ceremoniously to the king the seven or eight small bowls which he must bring successively to his lips are well aware of this .... How many of those unfortunate people formerly paid with their lives for a mere suspicion of impurity! It is true that those Draconian measures were usually motivated by fear of poisoning.

262 Cow meat is a choice morsel and a true dainty, especially for the poor, who taste it only rarely. It is also practically the only meat permitted to women, others being taboo to them. Even cow 237 urine has its daily and current use. /505/

It is used to wash the milk pots and bowls. As for dung, it is put to many uses: to plug up holes and cracks in the wooden kitchen utensils, to coat hut walls in order to ward off the wind and cold, to rub over the body for certain skin ailments, etc.

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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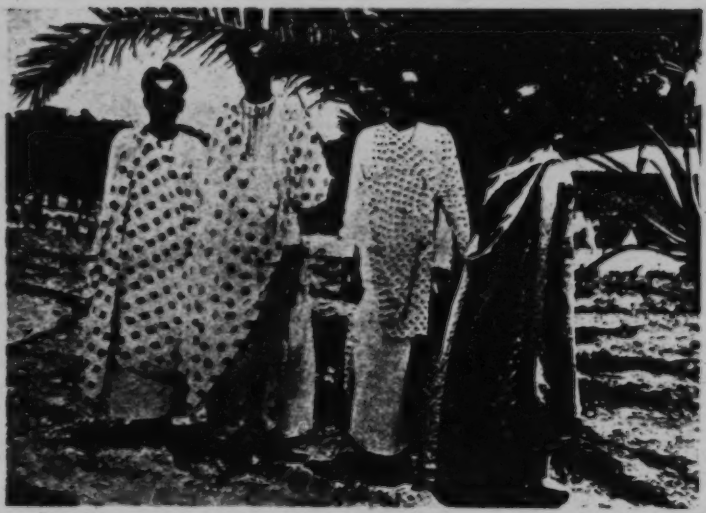
King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

5: Pages--282 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Rwagataraka, chief of the Kinyaga.

5: Pagès--283 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Batutsi from Nyanza.



291

The high chiefs of Ruanda.

5: Pages--285 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Mututsi lady surrounded by her children and her feminine attendants.

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Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type.

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5. Pages--286 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Little girls in children's dress, from the central province of Nduga.

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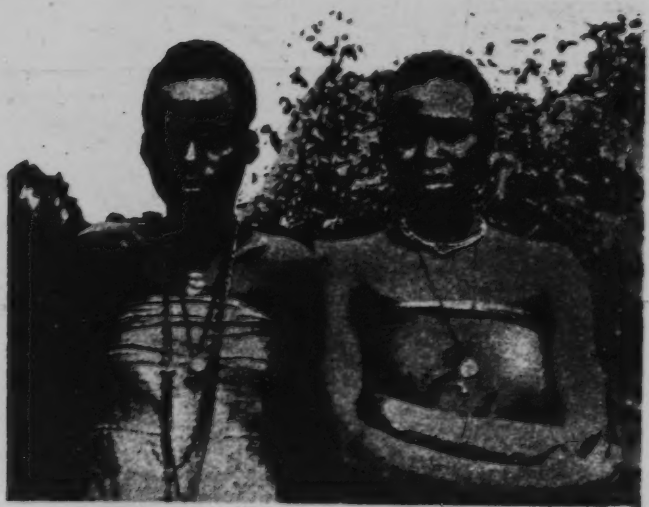
[487]

Two young Bahutu girls.



5: Pages--287 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Children of the Muhutu (Bahutu) type. The long fringed costume they wear is made of banana fibers which they have woven themselves.

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Women of the Muhutu type.

Banana leaf serving as an umbrella.

A banana leaf shelters a baby's head.

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[854]

5: Pages--289 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

5: Pages--291 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Family umbrella.

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[302]

A semicivilized (person).

[177]

4. The route from Nduga, via Mulera and Ufumbiro, to Katana is the salt route, along which salt is transported south and sheep and goats north. From Lukara's settlement on the Muhawura, traders without packs reach Katana in four days and return, laden with salt, in six days.

5. A branch of the latter route runs from Nduga to Bugoye, Kishari, and Lake Edward, and this is the way salt is imported from Lake Edward and iron from the Congo state.

6. Another route, important for iron hoes, is that running from Kishari to Bugoye, Mulera, and Ruweruka, from which the route between Bugoye and Kissaka branches off. The bridge of the Ruasa Mission is a very convenient spot from which to observe traffic with Ruweruka.

7. The Ruzizi route connecting Kisenyi and Ischangi with Tanganyika (Usumbura) is of greatest importance for contraband goods from the Congo state. In this roundabout way ivory and rubber reach Tabora and the railway.

[170]

Chapter 8

Clothing, Ornaments, and Weapons

Clothing. In the clothing, ornaments, and weapons of Ruanda a mixture of the style peculiar to the Forest Bantu and characteristic elements from the eastern steppes is evident. Thus, we find both barkcloth and skins used for clothing, anklets made of grass along with wire spirals, and East African round bows with strings made of tendons beside composite bows with strings of bamboo strips. The East African elements are predominant and more apparent, the western elements more or less in the background. The material culture faithfully reflects historical events, and this can be substantiated with anthropological evidence.

In view of this, we can easily understand why skins are of prime importance in the clothing of the Banyaruanda. Barkcloth which they are unable to prepare as well as in Kiziba or in Buganda, for example, is of secondary importance. In his ceremonial

291 dress, the Mututsi does not use barkcloth. This leads us to associate barkcloth with the [171] Bahutu substratum. An argument in favor of this view may also be seen in the fact that barkcloth technique reaches its height in Buganda, but there the influence of the herdsmen aristocracy is at a minimum.

292 The festive garb of the Batutsi consists of a narrow piece of cowhide (mukane) with a fringe of about 20 strips (ndengera) of cowhide or, as in the case of the fringe on tobacco pouches, of otter skin. The cutting of these strips is called kutera indengera. The hide is light gray, worn with the fur side out, and fastened at the loins by being turned down at the edge.

291 The mukane must not be confused with the nshavure. The latter is an ordinary narrow skin without a fringe, which is worn by

[292]

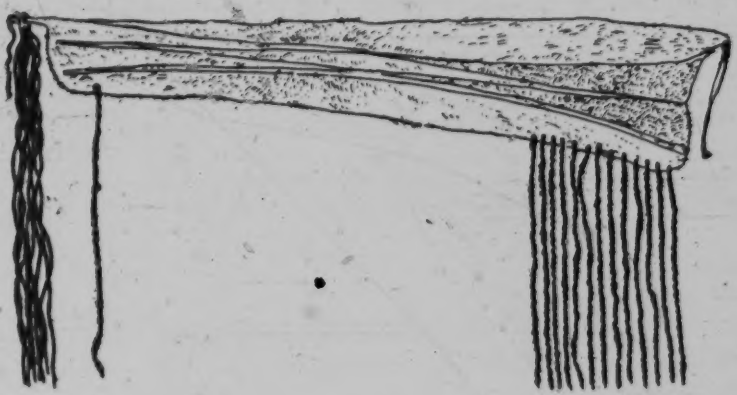

Fig. 57. Festive Garb of Batutsi in Ruanda. (1/12 actual size. III 10911. 125 centimeters wide.)

children, young girls, and even adult herdsmen when they go out to their animals early in the morning.

Children and unmarried girls also wear an apron (nduyongo) made of braided banana fibers, resembling the grass clothing of the Baziba [Haya].

The everyday dress of the Batutsi is made of cotton cloth. It consists of two pieces of material, each two yards long and one yard

wide. One piece is wrapped around the loins (kukenyara), the other is thrown over the shoulder (kuitera). For the shoulder pieces red prints are popular, but the colors are not gawdy. The cotton materials, like the skins, are smeared with butter. 291

The Bahutu for the most part wear barkcloth a great deal and, near the missions, cotton clothing also. Cloth and skins are worn in the same manner as the cotton material of the Batutsi.

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Fig. 58. Braided Apron for Young Women and Children, Ruanda. (1/6 actual size. III 9923. 33 centimeters wide.)

The Bahunde, who are physically and linguistically closely related to the Bahutu, draw a piece of barkcloth between their legs, like their western neighbors of the Congo Basin, instead of wrapping it around their hips, as the Banyaruanda do with the kukenyara. We may presume that the West African method of drawing it between the legs is the original custom, even among the Bahutu. This is confirmed by the fact that the Banyaruanda also wear waist bands, often decorated with glass beads, under their cotton clothing. At one time these probably served to fasten the barkcloth drawn between the legs. Wrapping the clothing around the hips makes these bands superfluous. The wrapped lengths of material seem to be the result of [172] a later East African influence, which could also have come from the Batutsi. The people cling to this principle of dress in their old costumes which they now wear only for rituals and festive occasions.

Fig. 59. Waistband of Strung Pieces of Porcupine Quills, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E 3954. 161 centimeters long.)

Married women wrap a soft piece of cowhide (inkanda) around their hips. It reaches to their ankles and is held and fastened with a 291

291 cord or thong. The free end of this thong is usually cut into several strands and strung with beads of glass or iron (ngimbi). The braided bast cord is called indjishi.

Dressed cowhide has a relatively high value and is worn for several years. When torn, it is mended and carefully sewn together. Not all women, however, can obtain this costly, though

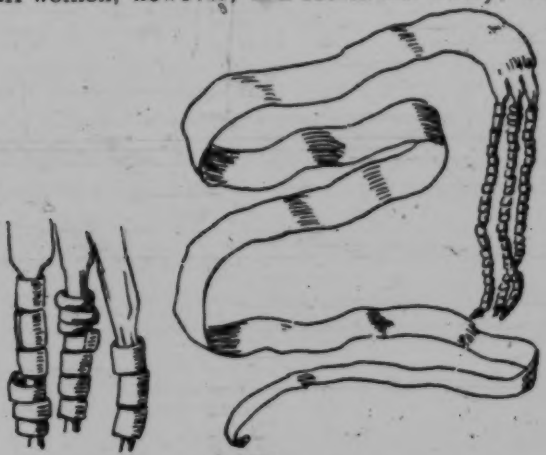


Fig. 60. Woman's Belt from Mulera. (1/6 actual size. III E 13701. 145 centimeters long.)

serviceable article of clothing and must wear goat skins and barkcloth (mpuzu), as do the grown girls. Near the missions where work is paid in cloth, they also wear cotton materials in place of cowhides.

To complete a woman's costume, a goat skin is thrown over the shoulders. However, when this article is omitted, the costume is not regarded as incomplete.

[854] Small children are always wrapped in sheepskin and carried on the back. The skin is tied together above and below the mother's breasts with two strips of barkcloth or two pieces of bark from a banana tree. These strips are tied to the leg parts of the skin.

[515] [173] Women who are carrying children usually also carry leaves in their left hand. The leaves are carefully laid together and used to wipe their backs and the child if necessary.

Batwa wear the same clothing as the Bahutu, except that cotton material is very rare among them. Dr. Kandt, however, observed differences in women's clothing. He says (1) about the 291

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 302.

Batwa women: "They wore aprons of slashed banana leaves to cover their genitals. As ornaments they wore on their withered bodies only a few chains tightly strung with bluish opalescent glass discs made of snail shells." On the Muhawura and in Kabgaye I had an opportunity to see and to measure Batwa women. They wore the ordinary clothing of Ruanda and the common type of ornaments. I saw Batwa women from Ngunzu's village only

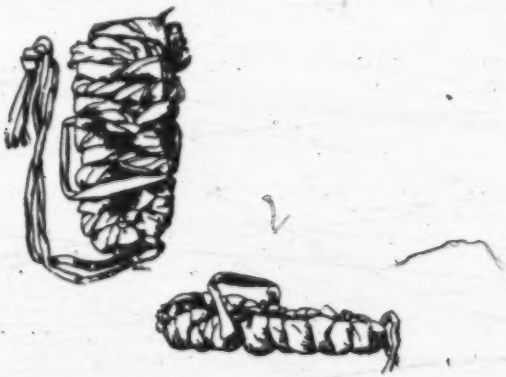


Fig. 61. Sandals from Bgisha. (1/6 actual size. III 10947. 25 centimeters long.)

in the primeval forest as they took flight, alarmed by our caravan.

Only in the patterns of European printed materials and the different kinds of glass beads can one see a predominant fashion in Ruanda. In the northwest Belgian materials were specially favored, but they were actually of better quality than those offered on the east coast.

Clothing worn temporarily during the rains consists of banana leaves tied around the hips. Fishermen wading in water wear the

291 same type of clothing.

293 The Munyaruanda is familiar with the native umbrella. In its simplest form the improvised umbrella consists of a large banana leaf worn on the head. An actual umbrella is made of the bark of a banana tree stretched on a bowl-shaped frame. It is worn on the head and supported by the back (cf. Vol. III, Plate 23).

291 I saw sandals only near the lava plain in Rulenge (Bgisha). They are made of banana leaves and, like the shoes used in Europe for mountain climbing, have a sole made of flat braid. They wear out very easily on the rough earth, so that on a journey several pairs must be taken along. [174] The natives wear them only when the footing is positively dangerous, otherwise they go barefoot wherever possible. Dr. Kandt (1) mentions the use of

1. Kandt, R., Caput Nili (Berlin, 1904), p. 478.

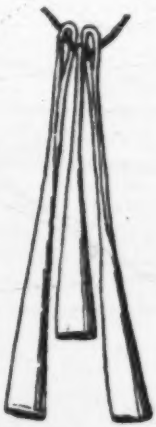
sandals among the Batundwe who, it seems, are a northern branch of the Bahunde and live near the southern shore of Lake Albert.

291 Ornaments. In Ruanda only the king wears a head covering;
301 he dons a cap on festive occasions. This cap is cylindrical, 20
554 centimeters high, and embroidered with beads. From it hang strings of beads ending in little embroidered rods. The strings are of two different lengths, so that there are two rows of little rods, one above the other, which form a beaded veil. There are no strings at the back or over the nose, but here there is an embroidered band hanging down below the root of the nose. On this band are three small embroidered rods that rest on the nose and extend to the mouth. A colobus [monkey] skin is fastened to the beaded band. This adjunct deserves special attention, since the priest of Wamara in Nkole adorns his head with a colobus skin, and the animal is the umuziru [prohibited object] of the Bahinda who rule the eastern and northern part of Ruanda.

291 I was not able to determine whether the wearing of the cap
554 by the ruler has any connection with the customs of the people in the Uele Basin where the cap is the privilege of the free man.

291 554 Otherwise head adornment in Ruanda consists merely of a strip of skin or a string of beads.

291 In the matter of head ornament there is one important difference between the Bahutu and the Batutsi, although it is not consistently carried out. The Batutsi push their headgear over the forehead to the eyebrows, whereas the Bahutu push it up to the hairline and down over the back of the head.



301 703 Besides head ornaments they wear numerous amulet containers of antelope horns, wild boars' tusks, etc. In Mulera one often sees, in addition, long, thin cone-shaped pendants of iron with eyelets at the tip by which they are suspended from the back of the headband. It is said that a man has the right to wear one of these ornaments for each enemy he has slain.

291 Fig. 62. Badges for Bravery, Mulera. (Approximately actual size.)

[531]

Fig. 63. Head Ornament Worn by Mother, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L 14944. L 14944. 18 centimeters in diameter.)

Nursing mothers wear a head ornament known as lugori. It consists of a band three to four centimeters wide made of corn straw. The band [175] is sewn together to form a crown. Decorations are sewn on the edge. In Maranyara I also saw a Mutwa woman wearing a lugori of corn straw.

413 With the other ornaments we must also mention the comb (rusokozo), although in Ruanda, in contrast to the regions to the west, it is not worn in the hair but is used only to comb the hair.

413 531 322 Combs are carved from one piece of wood in Ruanda and have three to eight teeth. As a rule, the teeth form the base of a triangle, the point of which is a pierced knob. Sometimes the comb

585 her husband, and there is a quarrel. It is proper for the man to show marks on his body which indicate to everyone that his wife bravely defended herself and did not yield like a hussy. However, the man may not be strong enough to break the wife's resistance with force, and he must then persuade her with presents to eat and to yield to him.

After the marriage, the woman must remain hidden for a time, that is, until her relatives come with gifts of beer, food, and bracelets. This visit usually takes place on the third day. On this occasion mats are brought along which the young wife made at home. She may chat with her relatives, the young girls who brought the mats. On this day there is dancing, singing, and much drinking.

Some time afterwards the parents again send their daughter presents. Among these, besides food, is a brand new hoe with a new handle. On this day the wife dances with her husband and the new hoe while the rest of the relatives sing an accompaniment. The wife then goes to the field for the first time and works a little. Until this day, called kushishura, the man has no sexual intercourse with his other wives. After the hoeing, grains of millet [842] are brought to the young woman. A handful is scattered on a mat, and she must pick them up with one sweep of her hand. If she fails, the prospects of numerous progeny are poor. She and her husband together grind these grains and use the flour to make beer which they give to small children in order that they themselves will have children.

841 [224] During the first menstrual period after her marriage, •291 the woman is given the cowhide which constitutes the dress of 302 married women, and her head is shaved. However, since girls are 585 not infrequently married before they are mature, it often happens that the wife goes about with her masunzu (shaved pattern) for a long time, waiting for the cowhide. Father F. Dufays told me that he knows of a case where a wife waited eight months for her cowhide, but it is said that the wife sometimes waits as long as two years.

841 Thus, a superstitition has arisen about the shaved pattern on 302 the head. According to it, if a wife does not give up her maiden 585

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE XXXI

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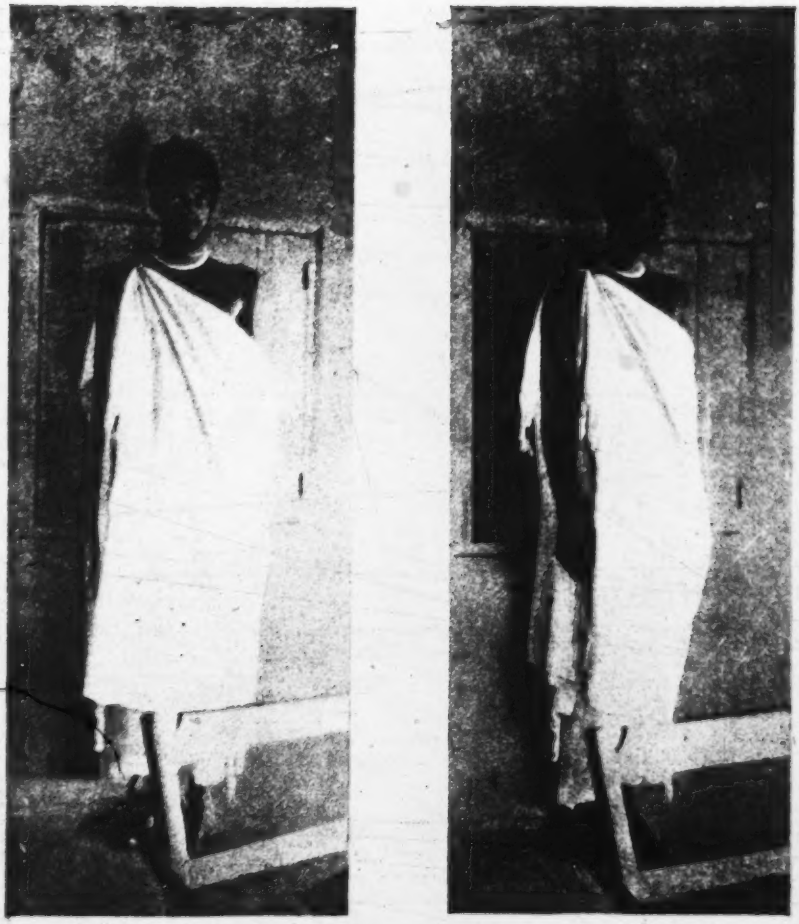

Chief of the Batuse, Ruanda

[facing p. 184]

7: Roscoe M-5 (1919-1920) 1924
FO42 Rundi FO42

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Wife of a Prince of the Batuse of Ruanda

[Facing page 194]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Tutsi lord and Hutu client

[Frontispiece]

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

irregular, dependent on circumstances—a good hunt or a generous reward for dancing and singing.

The Tutsi had a strictly controlled attitude towards solid food. They behaved as if the need for nourishment was, if not shameful, at least beneath their dignity. The taking of a meal was something to be done privately. Friends were offered beer or milk, but they were not asked to share a whole meal. When travelling the Tutsi were not supposed to eat solid food and if the journey did not exceed two or even three days, they very often actually did not eat. It is said that a true Tutsi subsists only on milk and beer and some old men take pride in boasting of it. This attitude towards solid food might be explained as an attempt on the part of the conquering pastoralists to stress their independence of the foodstuffs produced by and characteristic of commoners and on a deeper level as an affirmation of what we might term a fundamental difference between themselves and Hutu. The Tutsi, according to their legends, came from another world. They were human beings like the Hutu, but not in quite the same way. This interpretation of the Tutsi attitude to food is supported by their emphasis on greediness in the Hutu character, and gluttony in the Twa. In most of the tales in which Hutu appeared, they were conspicuous by their overeating. For the Twa this feature was still more stressed. Another fact significant in this respect was the very strong prohibition on Hutu servants attending the meals of their Tutsi masters to reveal what they ate. This prohibition was magically sanctioned.

4. CLOTHING AND SHELTER

In the highlands, especially during the rainy season and at night, adequate covering against cold and damp is needed. Boys and girls, however, go completely naked as long as they are *abana* (children), that is up to the age of eight or nine for girls and ten or eleven for boys. As children usually do not go very far from the compounds, they may find some protection against cold either inside the hut or by picking up a skin or blanket. But the great number of diseases of the respiratory organs among children is a sign of their inadequate protection against bad weather.

The traditional Twa garment was a sheep skin. The Hutu wore bark-cloth as a sort of skirt from the waist down to the knees.

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

On top of this men might add a goat skin and women a piece of cow-hide in which they eventually carried their babies on their backs. Before the Europeans came, important Tutsi had already for some time replaced the traditional cow-hide of the pastoralists or the bark-cloth borrowed from the agricultural group with large cotton cloths, white or light coloured, elegantly draped. The Tutsi wore two, one as a kind of long, narrow skirt, and the other flowing and tied on the shoulders. Both men and women wore them in this way. These goods were imported by African traders coming from the east where they bought them from Arab merchants. Up to their marriage Tutsi girls wore only a very short loin-cloth made of cow-hide.

Tutsi men had their hair cut in such a way as to leave a few tufts shaped according to a traditional and extremely elegant pattern (*amasunzu*). Unmarried girls, Hutu as well as Tutsi, had their hair cut the same way. The heads of Hutu men and Hutu and Tutsi women were shaved. Necklaces and bracelets in white, blue, and red beadwork were favourite ornaments. There were no artificial bodily deformations such as flattening of the head, chipping of teeth or circumcision. Everybody went barefooted.

The dwelling unit was a compound (*rugo*) consisting of at least three huts, each almost always situated in a circular enclosure intersecting and communicating with the other enclosures of the compound. Huts were of the beehive type usual among the interlacustrine peoples, made of reed and grass. There was a 'bed-sitting' hut (*kambere*), another, where pots, baskets, &c. were kept (*kigonii*), and a kitchen (*kagondo*). Hutu boys and girls under the age of puberty slept in the kitchen if there was no special hut for them. In addition there were granaries, and the small hut devoted to the ancestral spirits, &c. The circular fences were ficus hedges, much higher than a man. This pattern of combined circular fences made possible an almost unlimited extension of the compound without its losing its compactness. Indeed, compounds of rich Tutsi constituted a kind of intricate labyrinth in which it was easy to lose one's way. Whatever the number of enclosures, there was only one narrow communication with the outside world. The open enclosed area might be very large and was used as a kraal in which cattle spent the night during certain periods of the year at least. There was no difference of pattern between Hutu

diverts his love to the one that administers it to him—or to look for magic that will make the husband impotent when he is with other women, every sort of vengeance is normal among the wives of a polygamist. A Tutsi polygamist would not dare to settle his wives on one property. He places them on plots as distant from each other as possible. The Hutu polygamist congratulates himself that he can put all his wives together in one house. He is not rich, hence there are no motives for hatred under his roof. In this the Rundi were not unanimous: The Hutu insist that their wives obey them without backtalk but that Tutsi wives dominate their husbands. Against this idea, the Tutsi protested perhaps too much, while the idea evoked a Mona Lisa smile from the Tutsikazi. The enquirer was unable to seek verification in the houses themselves. There was talk about Tutsi domestic tyrants and a few of them were known, but the bulk of the evidence favours the Hutu point of view.

The contrasts between men and women parallel the Tutsi-Hutu case. Women are stronger than men, but clumsy and less agile; they are less stable and are less able to hide and control their emotions; they are much given to jealousy and competition in seeking the favour of the superior; they work for their husbands; they ask gifts of them. Although women as women are without doubt inferiors, their inferiority by no means excludes the possibility that character and behaviour will be reversed when they are in the roles of superiors.

Distinctions between the sexes begin at birth and increase with maturity. A little boy wears no clothing. His sister, from the first day of her life, wears the *ubudede*, a string of beads worn around her hips, which later in her life will be added to, especially through gifts from her husband. Except for the beads, however, there is very little attention paid to sex differences in infancy. Excepting among the wealthy, introduction to economic and social responsibilities occurs very early. Children, like any inferiors, must work and must obey the instructions and commands of their superiors. Boys are in the charge of their fathers and girls of their mothers. Apprenticeship begins earlier for girls than for boys. When she is three years old, a little girl, Tutsi or Hutu, is already old enough to accompany her mother to the fields and follow her about the house. At six, she knows how to sweep the yard, do a little work with the hoe, and carry on her head a sizeable basket of beans or a large gourd of water. At the same age, her brother, particularly among the herders, begins at last his apprenticeship with his father. Among the Hutu, boys are sometimes instructed by their mother or grand-

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

mother how to farm and to carry burdens on their heads. At 12, boys and girls should be able to work well and independently. If not, they are beaten or deprived of their dinner to encourage them to learn. There is, nevertheless, time to play with other children, the boys with other boys, the girls with other girls.

Moral taboos have no significance before adolescence. Children may eat anything at all, without penalty. A young girl may milk a cow: she is not yet a woman, say the Rundi, she is still like her brother. Brothers and sisters sleep together in the same bed and are covered by the same mat. If sometimes there are sexual experiments, these are not called incest. They are only children, they are not responsible, they cannot sin. At puberty, a young girl is removed from the common bedroom of the children. Boys seem to mature much later than girls. Moreover, the question of the dowry enters to delay their marriage. It is said that girls want to be married very early. By the time they have reached puberty, they have already begun to play with other young girls, each helping the other to develop the private parts to a maximum size in anticipation of the pleasures of the marriage bed. A mother warns her daughter that she must absolutely remain a virgin until her marriage, or, at least, that she does not dare to become pregnant if she has not yet been asked for and paid for. In the past, an unmarried mother-to-be would have been killed and her father's property confiscated. Today, there are illegitimate children, and nobody knows quite what to do with them. (One way in which a disgruntled wife can revenge herself upon her husband is by allowing a grown daughter to become pregnant before she is paid for.) At all events, it is up to the mother of a nubile daughter to watch her carefully.

Very strong taboos forbid all contact between a father and his daughter after she has been weaned, except for mutual greetings and for several minor services which a daughter performs for her father.[13] It is customary for girls to wear only a skirt while working, and in the past, a young girl might wear nothing at all or only a leopard skin around her hips. A father must avert his eyes if a daughter is working with her bosom exposed. If a father wishes some information about his daughter, or if he wishes to say something to her, he must ask his wife to speak to their daughter. If a young girl is to be punished, it is the mother who will beat her, never the father. The same taboos apply to the father's brothers. All are called *data*, father. Fathers never enter the house in which a married daughter lives with her husband. The explanation offered for these strong taboos to separate father from mature

10:Albert E-5 (1956-1957)1963
FO42 Rundi FO42

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XIII. A Tutsikazi.

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XIV. A Hutu "matriarch".

[following p. 215, A]

586 After they are weaned, the children return to their father, unless the dowry has not been paid in full.

CHAPTER IV. BIRTH AND FILIATION

[843] A pregnant woman continues with her work until the moment of her delivery. A Muhutu woman may even give birth while working 844 in the fields. This must not be considered the result of her hard lot but is due to the influence of tradition. Seeing her relatives and neighbors behaving in this way, she would never imagine that she might remain inactive while awaiting her child's arrival.

[787] When the event is near, the auguries are consulted to find out the most favorable place for the [35] birth. It might take place at the home of the wife's parents.

846 During the week following the birth, the woman rests; her husband surrounds her with attention and sees that she lacks nothing, meat, milk, beer, etc. (guhemba umubyeyi, lit., to reward the mother). In addition, the wife's parents also bring her presents. About 553 the eighth day the mother begins to go out again on condition that the 292 day is an even one (1). For this occasion, she puts on her finest clothes,

[805] [777] [461]

1. The week in Ruanda has four work days and one day of rest. Uneven days are considered ill-omened.

a dress of cowskin (ikanda), or if she is a Mututsi, a leopardskin with which she covers her shoulders. On her head she puts on a kind of crown (urugori) made of sorghum straw (2) which she will proudly wear

2. Among the rich Batutsi, the urugori is trimmed with beads.

from then on, for it is the emblem of a mother's dignity. The young 553 mother places herself near the door of the rugo with her husband. If the child is a boy, the father slips a miniature spear, bow, arrow, and shield between his fingers so that he will be brave. The

1:Vanhove--70B G÷5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

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Orchestra accompanying the dance of the intore.

The Mwami attending his intore.

(Photos taken by Author)

Dances of the Intore.

(Photos by Borchgraeve.)

1:Vanhove--70C G-5 (ca. 1935) 1941 FO42 Rundi FO42

[Between pp. 82 and 83]

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Mututsi prince.

Mutwa in a pantomime scene.

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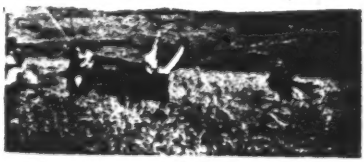

Inyambo, accompanied by their guardians, grazing in a Buganza pasture.

The parade of the Inyambo, A Muhutu praising the qualities of the sacred cattle he is guarding.

(All photos taken by Author)

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787 according to their answers indicate the decision to be made.

[90] 6. The Intore

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861 The Mwami's prestige requires him to have a group of intore who constitute a corps of pages. Their creation goes back to Mwami Ruganzu. They were then called the "intrepid ones" (1). The intore

1. Ibisumizi, from gusumira, "to carry off by force."

are the sons of the intebe and abachibiri chiefs as well as of the Mwami's abagaragu. A father who did not send his child to the king's Court to become an intore would imply that he did not love the Mwami and would regret it. Usually when they are igimbi (about ten years old) the young boys are brought to Nyanza where they remain until they are men. They learn to fight, jump, and dance. At the same time they get their political education, learning the legendary traditions and customs of the country as well as the rules of courtesy. The intore camp on a hill not far from the Mwami's residence and meet morning and evening for their exercises.

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●292 [535] At festival time, the intore wear a special garment. Their loins are girt with a leopardskin (inkindi), and they wear round their heads a band (umugara) decorated with inkomo fur (black, white-collared monkey called Colobus) which is held by imiroto going down their cheeks. They wear a necklace (igitako) round their necks and others as shoulder belts (inzibanye). They dance holding a bow (umuheto) in one hand and a spear (ichumu) in the other; small iron bells are attached to their ankles.

7. The Inyambo

231 Ruanda can be called Igihugu chy'inka n'ingoma (the country of the cow and the royal drum). Horned cattle, the principal wealth of the Batutsi, is cared for with a love approaching veneration.

287 reforms again under the resin exuding from the wood, and the wound heals. In two years time the tree can be cut once more. The piece of bark which has been removed is first cleaned of the rough outer layer with a knife, then it is placed over a tree trunk lying on the ground and pounded on both sides with a short, grooved, wooden club (Plate 36, 37) until it becomes soft. The sap still in it is then wrung out, as out of a wash rag; the piece is then spread out and dried in the sun. Finally it is sewn with banana bast thread and an awl to other pieces and made into a garment of the size needed for a loincloth or a cloak (No. 19, p. 279). Barkcloth is produced exclusively by [462] men and is, almost without exception, for house and family use only, but in Ruanda there are also special "fundi" who make a business of producing and selling the cloth to other people. The women are concerned only with decorating their [301] garments with interlaced borders and lace, while the men [32] also fasten tassels and shoulder tufts as decorations on their garments (Plates 11a, 44, 45). Even King Kisabo liked to indulge in this occupation during his leisure hours, and the same is reported of the mighty chief Lusabiko in east Urundi: "We found the chief busy making fringes out of fine dry grass with which to decorate his bark garment. In this simple Negro, squatting on the ground plaiting fringes, nobody would have suspected the great Lusabiko at whose feet a quarter of the beautiful land of Urundi lies trembling" (No. 14, p. 214).

291 It may be assumed that the Batussi as a pastoral people must originally have worn garments made from cattle hides, as is still the case at present among several pastoral tribes in East Africa, for example, the Massai and Wandorobbo [Wanderobo]. Since they have settled down, however, they have adopted barkcloth, among many other things, from the subject Bahutu. [292] Carefully and tastefully prepared hide garments, leopard skin aprons (see pp. 124, 126), and all kinds of ornaments (Plates 11b, 12a, 31, 32) make their appearance only when festive attire is worn at war dances and other celebrations.

Neither men nor women have any headgear. If the sun is too hot, if it rains, or if the head must be protected for some other reason, a corner of the garment is pulled over the bare

535 The women always form a circle for their dances. One woman, usually a young girl (sometimes even two), dances in the center. With her arms not quite stretched out and her hands bent upward, she moves to and fro within the circle making all kinds of symbolic movements which are extraordinarily graceful. Von Trotha was very much reminded of the bayaderes (No. 8, p. 72). These dances do not have even a trace of eroticism. Apparently they are an imitation of the characteristics of animals. Van der Burgt interprets the position of the arms as an imitation of the horns of cattle and ascribes an originally religious meaning to the dances (No. 19, p. 142). I feel, however, that in many cases these are supposed to be imitations of the outspread wings of the crowned crane, the characteristic animal of the swampy Ruanda-Urundi landscape, as is also the case with quite similar dances in Ruanda. The position of the rest of the body and the manner of running forward and backward are also, it seems to me, in accord with this. In Ruanda this dance is called "crane dance." Boys and sometimes even men like to take part in it.

While the girl dancing solo (or the two of them) shows her skill in this manner, the women standing around in a circle stamp the ground rhythmically with their feet. They may also sing. A choir leader shouts very short stanzas, sometimes only a single word; which is then repeated by the choir until the choir leader calls out a new stanza.

535 292 There are no special costumes for the dances. Father van der Burgt mentions and gives a picture of a "couronne," a cap made of raffia fibers; from it a long train of fibers hangs down the back. Van der Burgt describes these caps as the decoration of the dancing girls (No. 19, p. 407, and Fig. 138), but these "crowns" are very rare. The Barundi are also not familiar with masked dances or other kinds of disguise connected with dances. There are only certain symbolic cult-costumes which are worn by sorcerers or priests leading certain religious dances [302] (see pp. 124, 126, 131 and Plates 25, 54). On the other hand, the faces of the dancers are often painted with white or red earth (cf. pp. 127, 128).

765 Funeral rites are performed only when a king is buried, but after each death certain mourning customs are observed which are more or less elaborate depending on the social position of the deceased. If the deceased is a common Murundi and also father of a family, his widow (or widows) and children observe a mourning period of seven days by not leaving the homestead. Presumably they are afraid of the spirit of the deceased when going outside the house so shortly after his death. Inside the hut they introduce numerous inovations and rearrangements as though they wanted to lead astray and divert the spirit of the deceased should he decide to return. The entrance to the residential hut is changed to another side, new stones are found for the fireplace, the place of the bed is moved, all the tools are rearranged, and so forth. After the seventh day every [783] member of the family takes a thorough bath in a stream, probably as a symbolic cleansing from the defilement caused by the deceased. Then the whole family have their heads shaved as a symbol of purification and mourning, and during the following two months they always wear clothes of mourning when leaving [292] the house, i.e., barkcloth which is neither dyed black, the normal color, nor painted with patterns (No. 19, p. 163) but [822] has its natural reddish-brown color; thus red is the color of mourning here. The name of the deceased is not mentioned any [551] more so as not to cause his malevolent spirit to appear, and all other persons or objects bearing the same name are given new ones.

Naturally a deceased mutwale is given more respect than 766 a common Murundi. For the former the kiranga performs the 211 ceremonies of the "holy spear" (see p. 134), and a tree is 768 planted on his grave [115] as a memorial (imana) which is inviolable. The family of the deceased leaves the homestead and settles in another place; the huts of the deceased disintegrate and disappear, and the fig trees that form the fence gradually grow into magnificent trees. Nobody may cut them down for [689] wood on pain of death (No. 19, p. 205). The sites where chiefs once lived, both in Urundi and Ruanda, can be picked out anywhere in the landscape by these groups of trees arranged in a circle where they once enclosed the courtyards (Plate 29a).

794 admission to the order by the society's members is then enacted
575 in the kraal of the candidate. It is accompanied by innumerable
796 formulas, ministrations, invocations of Riangombe, Painting of face and body, eating, drinking, dressing up, handling the sacred spear, alternate chants, and the rattling of bells and gourds. Each of these acts has a symbolic meaning and reference (No. 44, pp. 539-558).

At the end of the ceremony the candidate's sponsor puts
●[292] on the insignia of Riangombe (leopard skin, headdress with a cow's tail, etc.) and thereby turns into Riangombe himself who now in his own person performs the ceremony of the admission of the neophyte by a kind of examination and instruction. However, the novice is initiated to no profound secrets or "esoteric wisdom," as in the mysteries of antiquity, but only to ritual formalities, and though the novice is required to make a solemn vow that he will keep the secrets of the Kubandwa, this refers merely to these superficial ceremonies, for, like the other ababandwa, he knows of nothing else. In conclusion, the newly admitted member once more offers presents to Riangombe and to the ababandwa assisting him. Then Riangombe confers
[551] a new name on the novice by which he will be exclusively known in the future; in Ruanda, for example, the name may be "the little one who smashes the stone," or "the one who swallows cream," or "the one who steals from his mother," or "the one who rids the dogs of fleas" (No. 44, p. 870). After this the neophyte is a regular member of the society. Then the ababandwa, decorated with the insignia of their spirits, march through the countryside collecting food which is finally squandered in an eating and drinking bout (No. 44, p. 110). The newly admitted umubandwa then has to give public demonstration of his newly acquired power. A Munjaruanda who finds himself in some difficult situation asks him to help him appeal to Riangombe or some other god or protective spirit (for example, Kiranga, Masira, Binego, Kagoro, Mugassa). This is done by ceremoniously imploring the god to grant the request and by slaughtering in honor of the god a sterile cow, an old steer, or a ram, which is consumed by the ababandwa of the entire region (No. 44, p. 123 ff.). [127] On this occasion, as at all cattle sacrifices,

2: Meyer--288 K-5 (1911) 1916 FO42 Rundi FO42

Plate 54

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Headdresses and Amulets; Ethnological Museum, Berlin.

No. 1) Bifurcated stick with medicine amulets in plaited satchels, 82 centimeters long; Nos. 2, 3) Plaited dancing caps with goat hair and cowrie shells, 68 and 80 centimeters long.

535 The young men are sustained by the hope of eventually obtaining some cows, by the cheers of the spectators, and by the presence of the king.

On important festival days, the noble squires gird their loins [292] with a colobus or calf pelt adorned with otter hide fringes. On the head they wear a hat of banana-tree fibers that looks like long hair, and their chest is adorned with beads or long narrow strips. They wear bells on their legs and ankles, and they all hold in their hands a spear and a bow. They form groups of 40 or 50, which are differentiated by the richness or design of their costumes and ornaments.

One by one, at the command of the choreographers, they make writhing motions intermingled with jumps and shouts, coming and going with impeccable rhythm, revolving the head as though wishing to tear it from the body. The Blacks are very fond of those war dances, which are in fact marvels of technique.

It is the rhythmic motion of the feet that they admire most and watch most carefully.

644 535 We shall give here for what it may be worth a list of the names of the principal page corps, including the dance groups of the Muhutu /Bahutu/ and Mutwa /Batwa/ race:

Pages and Dancers	Race	Chief
Inchogozabahizi	Abatutsi	Yuhi-Musinga
Intangamuganzanyo	"	"
Urugangazi	"	"
Ibirushya	Abahutu	"
Ishyaka	Abatwa	"
Inkerarugamba	"	" /447/
Indinzi	Abatutsi	Sebagangari
Inkeramihigo	"	Kayondo
Imbasharugamba	Abatwa	"
Inkorabahizi	Abatutsi	Chyitatire
Urwintwari	"	Nturo
Ingeri	"	Rukarakamba
Imbabazabahizi	"	Lwagataraka

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778 to taste the flesh of the ndatwa, or long-horned cows who walk in the
262 lead of the sacred herds (inyambo).

This exception to the rule illustrates the importance given to the cows in that category.

. . In order to make sure that this prohibition is heeded, the
[278] keepers allow the rumor to spread that crocodile blood (ingona), which is regarded as a dangerous poison, is used to rub the favorite cows (indatwa). /511/

III. Exhibition of the Objects in the Royal Treasure

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543 Let us mention further that on the occasion of those two important solemnities, the objects in the royal treasure (intore) are exhibited. They include beads of all kinds, necklaces, bracelets, fabrics, small carved bones (intimba), and elaborately worked colobus pelts (inkomo). It seems that prior to the Ruchunchu disaster (1896), when most of the pieces belonging to the famous treasure disappeared in the flames, the collection was so outstanding for its (strictly indigenous) richness and variety that it could hardly be enumerated. It had to be replaced piece by piece.

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543 Only a few colobus pelts and a few lengths of fabric survived the disaster. The most ancient "loincloths" harked back to King Gahindiro whose reign must have ended somewhere between 1840 and 1850! They had been preserved all along with zealous care, for they were regarded as very valuable for the period.

They were designated by the name of impwijima, owing to the character of the striped and streaked fabric.

[648] The kings of Ruanda had obtained them through the good offices of the princes of the Karagwe and Usui, with whom they had entertained amicable relations from time immemorial.

Frequent exchanges of brides from court to court were instrumental in maintaining a certain amity between them. It will be recalled that Ruganzu ran away to his paternal aunt, Nyirabunyana, wife of the potentate of theKaragwe, who was then Ndagara and who had succeeded a certain Luhinda. Because of their proximity to

543 292 Lake Victoria, the kings of the Karagwe and especially those of the Usui were among the first to establish contact with the Arabs and to receive fabrics from them. Their Ruanda friends benefitted from this. Since those garments were few, /the kings/ alone wore them, and they were also given /512/ the name of imyambarabami, "the king's vestments." Upon the death of a king his garments were put away and became part of the treasure. Although they wore cloth from that time onward, the kings of Ruanda did not forsake the national costume called by the name of inkindi and made of one or two colobus pelts (inkomo), well tanned and elaborately worked. Those pelts were collected and entrusted to the keepers of the treasure (abanyabyuma), trustworthy men who were preferably chosen among chiefs or the prince's favorites. Those employees had to see to it that the belongings of dead kings were properly cared for. Those garments were beginning to pile up in the wardrobe when the revolution which overthrew King Mibambge-Rutalindwa, appointed successor of Lwabugiri-Kigeri, broke out.

The fire which consumed the huts where the royal furnishings had been stored destroyed practically everything.

It has since been attempted to build up a new treasure by choosing new lengths of fabric bought from merchants, this being now an easy proposition.

Colobus pelts were tanned to replace the old ones. The present king has secured beads, bracelets, necklaces, etc., of various sorts. They are faithfully displayed with great solemnity before the royal hut, which stands at the heart /fond/ of the first outer courtyard, at the time of the two great festivals.

It should not be assumed that this is mere ostentation, a simple display of riches.

Of course, the kings are far from insensitive to this vainglorious exhibit of antiquated frippery and trinkets, which to them were supreme artistic riches. This, however, was not all. This display also had the purpose of gaining the good graces of dead princes. To this end, several individuals were selected among those present to recall their memory. They were made to dress in the old or new colobus pelts /513/ which had belonged, or were supposed to have

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King Musinga in front of the large hut which serves as his reception hall. At his right is his maternal uncle Kabale, instigator of the Ruchunchu coup d'etat.

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King Musinga with his mother at his right and several great court ladies.

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The king at one of his favorite diversions.

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King Musinga and some people of his entourage.

5: Pages--266 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

5: Pages--267 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

Mututsi (Batutsi) warrior in dance costume.

Nkusi, Nturo's son, in dance costume.

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5: Pages--268 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Warriors in festival dress.

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Kayondo dancers.

5: Pages--269 M-5 (ca. 1925) 1933 FO42 Rundi FO42

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Dance of the pages.

Popular merrymaking. Native dance.

291 dress, the Mututsi does not use barkcloth. This leads us to associate barkcloth with the [171] Bahutu substratum. An argument in favor of this view may also be seen in the fact that barkcloth technique reaches its height in Buganda, but there the influence of the herdsmen aristocracy is at a minimum.

292 The festive garb of the Batutsi consists of a narrow piece of cowhide (mukane) with a fringe of about 20 strips (ndengera) of cowhide or, as in the case of the fringe on tobacco pouches, of otter skin. The cutting of these strips is called kutera indengera. The hide is light gray, worn with the fur side out, and fastened at the loins by being turned down at the edge.

291 The mukane must not be confused with the nshavure. The latter is an ordinary narrow skin without a fringe, which is worn by

[292]

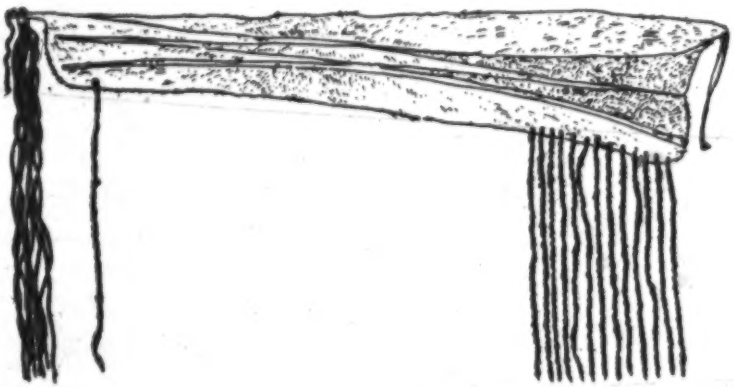

Fig. 57. Festive Garb of Batutsi in Ruanda. (1/12 actual size. III 10911. 125 centimeters wide.)

children, young girls, and even adult herdsmen when they go out to their animals early in the morning.

Children and unmarried girls also wear an apron (nduyongo) made of braided banana fibers, resembling the grass clothing of the Baziba [Haya].

The everyday dress of the Batutsi is made of cotton cloth. It consists of two pieces of material, each two yards long and one yard

have made the sacrifice and by their friends.

The Batutsi wear the fat and bones of sacrificed sheep as amulets around their necks. The fat, like the chicken entrails, is worn on the chest in small containers fastened to a string of bast.

Fig. 165. Sacrificial Vessel for Beer, Mulera. (1/4 actual size. L15173. 21 centimeters high.)

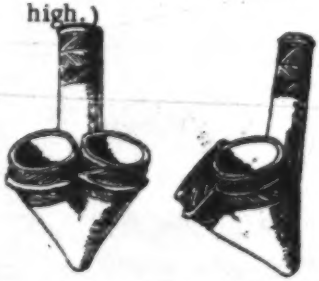

Fig. 166. Tobacco Pipes with Twin Bowls, Ruanda. (1/2 actual size. III E6595. 9 centimeters long.)

Beer is offered to Ryangombe in jugs with two openings. The sacrificer drinks out of one opening, Ryangombe out of the other. The double-bowled tobacco pipes seem to serve the same purpose.

When they are making a sacrifice, the Batutsi may not wear cotton material. They must be dressed in the fringed cowhide known as mukane.

9: Maquet E-5 (1949-1951) 1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

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The late king, Charles Mutara Rudahigwa

[Facing P. 118]

9:Maquet E-5 (1949-1951)1961 FO42 Rundi FO42

PLATE 4

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The queen-mother, Radegonde Nyiramavugo

[Facing P. 119]